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Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S/AM:RJMCCLOSKEY
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S/S-O: P. SHANKLE
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL LOS ANGELES FLASH

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TOSEC 06

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)
SUBJECT:BACKGROUNDER ON YOUR SPEECH

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MCCLOSKEY

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE POINTS I WOULD DRAW UPON IN THE BACKGROUNDER TOMORROW:

1. THERE ARE THREE MAIN THEMES IN THIS SPEECH:

A) THE WORLD FACES MAJOR AND UNPRECEDENTED CHALLENGES WHICH REQUIRE A STRONG AMERICAN ROLE, GIVEN INCREASING GLOBAL INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE WEIGHT OF THIS COUNTRY;

B) AMERICA SHOULD SEE THIS PERIOD AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR GREAT CREATIVITY, NOT DESPAIR. WE CAN MEET THE CURRENT CHALLENGES AS WE HAVE MET GREAT ONES BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY;

C) TO DO THIS, HOWEVER, WILL REQUIRE A NEW SENSE OF
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UNITY AND COMMON PURPOSE HERE AT HOME, IN PAR-

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TICULAR A NEW NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE
EXECUTIVE AND THE CONGRESS.

2. THE SECRETARY'S PURPOSE QUITE FRANKLY IS TO GET
ACROSS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHAT THE PRESIDENT AND HE
STRONGLY BELIEVE -- THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE ENGULFED BY
THE DISAPPOINTMENTS OF RECENT EVENTS, THAT WE HAVE THE
STRENGTH -- IF WE HAVE THE WILL -- TO TURN WHAT APPEARS
AS A CRISIS INTO A PERIOD OF BOLD CONCEPTION.

3. MORE SPECIFICALLY HE SEEKS -- IN A VERY CONCILIATORY
WAY -- TO LAY THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW PERIOD OF COOP-
ERATION BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE CONGRESS AND
RESPECTS THE ROLES AND PERSPECTIVES OF BOTH BRANCHES.
HE IS CONCERNED ABOUT RECENT ACTIONS THAT HAVE HAMPERED
OUR POLICY EFFORTS, BUT RECOGNIZES THE CONCERNS OF CON-
GRESS AT THE SAME TIME. WITH A NEW PRESIDENT AND NEW
CONGRESS, WITH VIET-NAM AND WATERGATE BEHIND US, IT IS
TIME FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND A RENEWED SENSE
AMONG AMERICANS THAT WE ARE ALL ENGAGED IN A COMMON
ENTERPRISE.

4. NOW LET ME GO THROUGH THE SPEECH MORE SPECIFICALLY.

5. YOU WILL SEE THAT DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THIS SPEECH
THE SECRETARY HAS IDENTIFIED A NUMBER OF THE MORE CRITICAL
ISSUES -- BOTH THOSE TRADITIONAL ONES SUCH AS ARMS CONTROL,
AND NEW GLOBAL ISSUES SUCH AS ENERGY AND FOOD -- NOW BEFORE
THE UNITED STATES.

6. HE HAS TALKED ABOUT THESE ISSUES BEFORE, BUT NEVER IN
THIS PARTICULAR CONTEXT, I.E., THE NEED FOR A NEW PARTNER-
SHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES
OF GOVERNMENT IF WE ARE TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE
DIPLOMATIC AGENDA IN AN ERA OF INTERDEPENDENCE.

7. THE SECOND HALF OF THE SPEECH, AS YOU SEE, IS DEVOTED
TO THE NEED FOR NATIONAL UNITY AND THE ESSENTIAL NECESSITY
FOR THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO WORK TOGETHER
TO ESTABLISH A PARTNERSHIP TO UNDERWRITE OUR FOREIGN
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POLICY.

8. LET ME RETURN FOR A MOMENT TO THE FIRST HALF OF THE
SPEECH. THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZES HERE THAT THE DEVELOP-
MENT OF A NATIONAL CONSENSUS AT THE CLOSE OF WORLD
WAR II MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO FASHION AN INTERNATIONAL
SYSTEM WHICH ASSURED THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF EUROPE AND
JAPAN AND SOME 30 YEARS OF STABILITY.

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9. THE SECRETARY POINTS OUT THAT THE TRADITIONAL ISSUES

THAT HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF OUR DIPLOMACY SINCE THE WAR STILL REQUIRE OUR ATTENTION. IN THIS REGARD HE MAKES THREE POINTS:

(A) OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST BE BASED UPON ALLIED SOLIDARITY;

(B) WE SHALL CONTINUE TO SEEK MORE STABLE RELATIONS WITH OUR ADVERSARIES;

(C) WE WILL WORK WITH OTHERS TO SEEK TO END LOCAL CONFLICTS AND TO INSULATE SUCH CONFLICTS FROM BIG POWER RIVALRIES.

10. WHILE THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA BEFORE US WILL REQUIRE A CONCERTED NATIONAL EFFORT, OUR FUTURE WILL BE DETERMINED BY HOW WELL WE RESPOND TO THE NEW ISSUES OF INTERDEPENDENCE, WITH EMPHASIS ON ENERGY AND FOOD.

11. THESE NEW ISSUES MARK THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS -- AN ERA OF GLOBAL PROBLEMS WHICH CANNOT BE RESOLVED BY THE ACTIONS OF ONE OR ONLY A FEW STATES.

12. THE SECRETARY MAKES A POINT WHICH HAS TOO OFTEN BEEN MISSED IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS; NAMELY, THAT WE HAVE ALREADY MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD MEETING THE ENERGY CRISIS. HE DETAILS, AS YOU WILL NOTE, THE STEPS THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN IN LESS THAN ONE YEAR TO ESTABLISH INTERNATIONAL ENERGY CONSERVATION STANDARDS AND TO SET

UP THE $25 BILLION RECYCLING FUND.

13. HE THEN GOES ON TO DESCRIBE WHAT FURTHER STEPS ARE NEEDED, BOTH IN TERMS OF FURTHER CONSUMER COOPERATION AND AN EVENTUAL DIALOGUE WITH THE PRODUCERS.

14. THE SECRETARY ALSO DISCUSSES THE FRAMEWORK WE HAVE LAID OUT TO SOLVE THE FOOD PROBLEM. HE INDICATES THE U.S. WILL HAVE MORE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS IN COMING MONTHS.

15. AS THE SECRETARY POINTS OUT, HOWEVER, THESE NEW CHALLENGES CANNOT BE MET BY INDIVIDUAL ACTION, ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES MAY BE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN MOST TO INSULATE ITSELF FROM ANY GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS.

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16. IN ORDER, HOWEVER, FOR US TO MOVE FROM A DEFENSIVE POSTURE TOWARD AN ACTIVE EFFORT TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF INTERDEPENDENCE, A NATIONAL UNITY OF PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE WILL BE REQUIRED. THIS HAS BEEN WEAKENED AS A RESULT

OF THE DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES WE HAVE FACED OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS.

17. THE SECRETARY POINTS OUT THAT WE CAN ONLY REGAIN THIS SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE IF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES CAN FORM A NEW PARTNERSHIP BASED ON TRUST AND A SENSE OF COMMON ENDEAVOR. I SHOULD NOTE HERE THAT THIS CALL IS IN KEEPING WITH THE SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AT THE TIME OF HIS CONFIRMATION HEARINGS. (HERE, WE WILL MAKE AVAILABLE YOUR STATEMENT).

18. THE PROPOSALS THE SECRETARY MAKES IN THIS SPEECH ARE IN KEEPING WITH THAT EARLIER STATEMENT AND FOLLOW LOGICALLY FROM IT.

19. I MIGHT ALSO POINT OUT THAT OVER THE COURSE OF THE SIXTEEN MONTHS THAT HE HAS BEEN SECRETARY, HE HAS TESTIFIED FORMALLY 37 TIMES BEFORE HOUSE AND SENATE COMMITTEES, HAS MET 76 TIMES WITH INDIVIDUAL CONGRESSMEN OR SENATORS AND 21 TIMES INFORMALLY WITH GROUPS OF UNCLASSIFIED

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CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS.

20. DESPITE THESE EFFORTS AND IN VIEW OF RECENT POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND CONGRESS, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE RELATIONSHIP OUGHT TO BE IMPROVED AND STRENGTHENED.

21. YOU WILL NOTE THEREFORE THAT THE SECRETARY HAS TAKEN A MAJOR INITIATIVE IN SUGGESTING THAT THE CONGRESS CONSIDER WHAT STEPS MAY BE NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH THE NEW PARTNERSHIP HE PROPOSES. HE HAS CALLED UPON THE CONGRESS TO MAKE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS AND HAS OFFERED TO SIT DOWN WITH WHOMEVER THE CONGRESS MAY SELECT TO DISCUSS THESE PROPOSALS WITH THEM. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WILL BE WILLING TO MEET THE CONGRESS MORE THAN HALF WAY IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

22. THE SECRETARY BELIEVES THIS DESIRABLE BECAUSE HE FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE NEW ISSUES OF INTERDEPENDENCE CANNOT BE EFFECTIVELY DEALT WITH BY A DIVIDED AMERICA.

23. HE CITES SOME RECENT PROBLEMS, NOT TO ASSIGN BLAME

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BUT TO ILLUSTRATE THE OBJECTIVE PROBLEMS THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS FACE TOGETHER AND MUST SOLVE TOGETHER. FRANKLY, OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS ALREADY BEEN RESTRICTED IN SOME AREAS.

24. THE SECRETARY MAKES CLEAR IN HIS SPEECH THAT THESE ARE NATIONAL PROBLEMS AND THAT HE IS NOT SEEKING TO PLACE BLAME ON ANY ONE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT. NOR DOES HE DENY THAT OVER THE COURSE OF THE PAST DECADE THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH HAS MADE MISTAKES IN ITS HANDLING OF THE CONGRESS.

25. THE POINT IS NOT WHO OR WHAT INSTITUTION IS TO BLAME, BUT RATHER THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THE EXECUTIVE AND THE CONGRESS MOVE RAPIDLY NOW TO ESTABLISH A NEW PARTNERSHIP WHICH WILL PERMIT US TO FACE THE CRUCIAL ISSUES BEFORE US AS A UNITED NATION. INGERSOLL

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